

THE KRUSHCHEV SPEECH

Primary

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situation of uncertainty, contributed to the spreading of unhealthy suspicion, and sowed distrust among Communists. All sorts of slanderers and careerists were active.

Only because our Party has at its disposal such great moral-political strength was it possible for it to survive the difficult events in 1937-1938 and to educate new cadres. There is, however, no doubt that our march forward toward Socialism and toward the preparation of the country's defense would have been much more successful were it not for the tremendous loss in the cadres suffered as a result of the baseless and false mass repressions in 1937-1938.

STALIN was a very distrustful man, sickly suspicious; we know this from our work with him. He could look at a man and say: "Why are your eyes so shifty today," or "Why are you turning so much today and avoiding looking me directly in the eyes?" The sickly suspicion created in him a general distrust even toward eminent party workers whom he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw enemies, "two-facers," and "spies."

Possessing unlimited power, he indulged in great wilfulness and choked a person morally and physically. A situation was created where one could not express one's will.

When Stalin said that one or another should be arrested, it was necessary to accept on faith that he was an "enemy of the people." Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which ran the organs of State Security, outdid itself in proving the guilt of the arrested and the truth of materials which it falsified. And what proofs were offered? The confessions of the arrested, and the investigative judges accepted these "confessions." And how is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not committed? Only in one way—because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were "confessions" acquired.

THE POWER accumulated in the hands of one person, Stalin, led to serious consequences during the Great Patriotic War.

When we look at many of our novels, films and historical "scientific studies," the role of Stalin in the patriotic war appears to be entirely improbable. Stalin had foreseen everything. The Soviet Army, on the basis of a strategic plan prepared by Stalin long before, used the tactics of so-called "active defense," i.e., tactics which, as we know, allowed the Germans to come up to Moscow and Stalingrad. Using such tactics the Soviet Army, supposedly, thanks only to Stalin's genius, turned to the offensive and subdued the enemy.

The epic victory gained through the armed might of the land of the Soviets, through our heroic people, is ascribed in this type of novel, film and "scientific study" as being completely due to the strategic genius of Stalin.

What are the facts of this matter?

Despite . . . particularly grave warnings, the necessary steps were not taken to prepare the country properly for defense and to prevent it from being caught unawares.

. . . Everything was ignored; warnings of certain Army commanders, declarations of deserters from the enemy Army, and even the open hostility of the enemy. Is this an example of the alertness of the chief of the party and of the state. . . ?

The result was that already in the first hours and days the enemy had destroyed in our border regions a large part of our air force, artil-

lery and other military equipment; he annihilated large numbers of our military cadres and disorganized our military leadership; consequently we could not prevent the enemy from marching deep into the country.

Very grievous consequences, especially in reference to the beginning of the war, followed Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and political workers during 1937-1941. . . .

The policy of large-scale repression against the military cadres led also to undermined military discipline, because for several years officers of all ranks and even soldiers in the Party and Komsomol cells were taught to "unmask" their superiors as hidden enemies.

It would be incorrect to forget that after the first severe disaster and defeats at the front Stalin thought that this was the end. In one of his speeches in those days he said: "All that which Lenin created we have lost forever."

AFTER THIS, Stalin for a long time actually did not direct the military operations and ceased to do anything whatever. He returned to active leadership only when some members of the Political Bureau visited him and told him that it was necessary to take certain steps immediately in order to improve the situation at the front.

(But) the main role and the main credit for the victorious ending of the war belongs to our Communist Party, to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and to the tens of millions of Soviet people raised by the Party.

We must state that after the war the situation became even more complicated. Stalin became even more capricious, irritable and brutal; in particular his suspicion grew. His persecution mania reached unbelievable dimensions. Many workers were becoming enemies before his very eyes. After the war Stalin separated himself from the collective even more. Everything was decided by him alone without any consideration for anyone or anything.

I recall the first days when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began artificially to be blown up. Once, when I came from Kiev to Moscow, I was invited to visit Stalin who, pointing to the copy of a letter lately sent to Tito, asked me, "Have you read this?"

Not waiting for my reply he answered, "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito. He will fall."

We have carefully examined the case of Yugoslavia and have found a proper solution which is approved by the peoples of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia as well as by the working masses of all the people's democracies and by all progressive humanity.

LET US ALSO recall the "affair of the doctor-plotters." Actually there was no "affair" outside of the declaration of the woman doctor Timashuk, who was probably influenced or ordered by someone . . . to write Stalin a letter in which she declared that doctors were applying supposedly improper methods of medical treatment.

Such a letter was sufficient for Stalin to reach an immediate conclusion that there are doctor-plotters in the Soviet Union. He issued orders to arrest a group of eminent Soviet medical specialists. He personally issued advice on the conduct of the investigation. . . .

This ignominious "case" was set up by Stalin; he did not, however, have time in which to bring it to an end (as he conceived that end), and for this reason the doctors are still alive.

COMRADES: we must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all, we must draw

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white, Democratic designee.

Two other drives for increased Negro representation in the State Assembly were cut short when Democratic machines in Queens and in Harlem succeeded in knocking insurgent Negro candidates off the primary ballot.

The only contest involving the Liberal Party is in the form of a write-in challenge by Morton Baum, GOP nominee for Surrogate in Manhattan. The Liberal Party, after considerable debate and soul-searching, officially designated the two Democratic nominees for the Surrogate posts, Justices Joseph A. Cox and S. Samuel Di Falco. The debate was over endorsement of DiFalco, considered too closely identified with Tammany machine politics.

Baum is challenging the Liberal Party's endorsement of DiFalco for the patronage-rich post. Liberal Party leaders declare the Democratic-Liberal coalition behind Sen. Lehman and the national ticket in the state makes this endorsement necessary.

The Democratic nominees for surrogate were challenged in the primary by an opposition slate sponsored by anti-Tammany Democrat Robert Blaikie. This slate, however, which included candidates for General Sessions judgeships and for delegates to the Democratic national convention was ruled off the ballot Friday by the Appellate Court. If the State Court of Appeals decides to hear an appeal, it will invalidate the primary elections for these positions, making necessary a special primary.

Assemblyman Daniel Kelly, Blaikie's candidate in the 7th A.D. is fighting an uphill battle to keep his position against the official Democratic machine.

There is special interest in the two Republican congressional primaries in Westchester. In the 26th, Rep. Ralph Gamble has given up his seat. Three candidates are running for the GOP nomination, one of them associated with the McCarthy wing of the GOP and the other two considered Eisenhower men.

In the 27th, one of the nation's worst and most anti-labor congressmen, Rep. Ralph Gwinn, is being challenged in the GOP primary by a pro-Eisenhower Republican, Christian Ambruster.

There is also special interest in the primaries for Democratic county committees in Onondaga (Syracuse) and Monroe (Rochester) counties, where labor is fighting against old-line Democratic machine bosses for control of the county organizations.

Norman Thomas, Buckley to Hold Smith Act Debate

This Thursday in Community Church, 40 East 35 St.

Debate topic: Is the Smith Act Necessary?

Norman Thomas vs. Wm. F. Buckley.

Moderator, Newbold Morris.

The debate will take place during the annual conference of the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union.

the proper conclusion concerning both ideological-theoretical and practical work.

We are absolutely certain that our Party, armed with the historical resolutions of the 20th Congress, will lead the Soviet people along the Leninist path to new successes, to new victories.

Long live the victorious banner of our party—Leninism!

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